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# Loudoun: Two New York Architects and a Gothic Revival Villa in Antebellum Kentucky

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## Loudoun: Two New York Architects and a Gothic Revival Villa in Antebellum Kentucky

*Patrick A. Snadon*

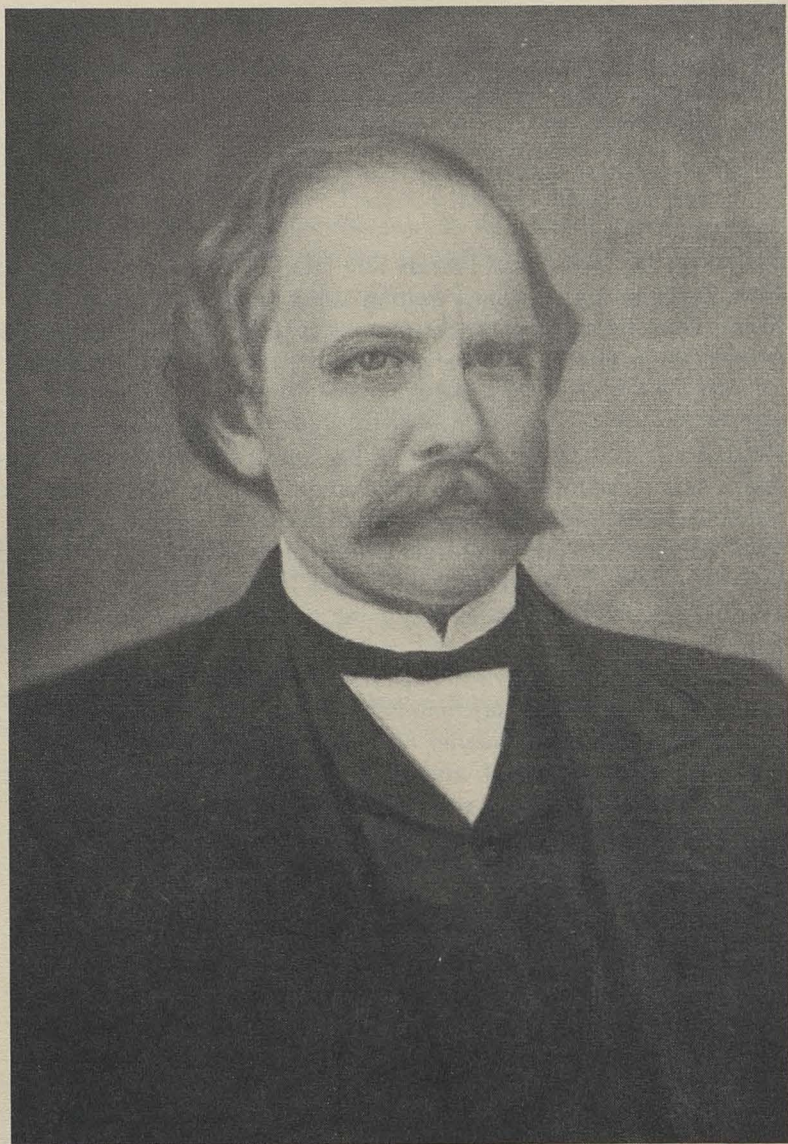
October 17, 1849 found Francis Key Hunt of Lexington writing to New York architect Richard Upjohn (1802-1878). In his letter the Kentuckian requested plans for a castellated Gothic villa. Hunt's request set in motion a sequence of events which have considerable interest for the understanding of nineteenth century American architecture. After proceeding several steps into the design process, the Kentucky client discovered that his New York architect had theoretical objections to using castellated Gothic architecture for American residences. Concluding that Upjohn would not give him what he wanted, Hunt withdrew from that relationship and turned instead to New York architect Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-1892). At this point the planning process for the Gothic villa began anew.

Both Upjohn and Davis are renowned for their Gothic Revival work. The Kentucky villa commission is not the only documented project on which their theories regarding the appropriate uses of historical styles in general, and of the Gothic Revival in particular, may be compared. Hunt's correspondence with both architects shows that they held radically different views concerning the place of Gothic Revival architecture in nineteenth century American society.

In the end, Davis got the commission. He and Hunt forged a compatible architect-client relationship which carried the Gothic villa from the planning stages through to completion. Even so, unexpected tensions arose between the northern architect's ideas of domestic planning and the southern client's cultural attitudes and expectations.

Loudoun, the Gothic villa which resulted from this complex collaboration, is significant in dual regards. First, it illuminates the nineteenth century minds of two major architects and their client concerning the use of historical revival styles for American houses; second, the design process of Davis and Hunt forms an important document of the cultural tensions between North and South in the





1. Francis Key Hunt (1817-1879) by M. W. Clark. Portrait in the collection of the Blue Grass Trust for Historic Preservation, Hunt-Morgan House.



antebellum period.

\* \* \*

The genesis of Loudoun recalls Edgar Allen Poe's Gothic tale "The Masque of the Red Death" (1842), in which Prince Prospero locks himself and his court away in a castellated abbey to escape the plague. Like Poe's tale, Loudoun began with a plague. In the summer of 1849, F. K. Hunt left Lexington with his family to escape a cholera epidemic.<sup>1</sup> While traveling in Canada and the eastern United States, he saw a castellated Gothic villa designed by A. J. Davis. Nothing of the sort had yet appeared in Kentucky, and the idea of building such a dwelling struck Hunt powerfully.

During his eastern trip Hunt's father, John Wesley Hunt, died in Lexington, probably a cholera victim. The eight surviving Hunt children inherited a fortune reputedly in excess of a million dollars.<sup>2</sup> With his portion of this patrimony F. K. Hunt began his Gothic villa. To understand Hunt's enthusiasm for Gothic Revival architecture and his interaction with both Upjohn and Davis, it is necessary to trace the development of his architectural taste.

Born in Lexington, Francis Key Hunt (1817-1879) was named for his mother's cousin, Francis Scott Key. [Illustration 1]<sup>3</sup> The tenth of twelve children of John Wesley and Catherine Grosh Hunt, Francis Key grew up at Hopemont, the elegant Neoclassical house built by his father around 1814.<sup>4</sup> The Lexington of Hunt's childhood was, architecturally, a Neoclassical city. In the early 1830s Hunt studied at Transylvania College, then building its new Greek Doric academic building to the designs of Gideon Shryock. After two years at Transylvania, he left Lexington to study at Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio.<sup>5</sup> There he found a wholly different architectural environment than the one he had previously known in Lexington.

Episcopal Bishop Philander Chase founded Kenyon College in 1825. He and his friend the Reverend Norman Nash, a gentleman-amateur architect, with assistance from Boston architect Charles Bulfinch, planned Kenyon's major academic building in 1826.<sup>6</sup> They designed the building with a grandiose, H-shaped plan and employed crude but bold castellated Gothic details. [Illustration 2] During construction (1826-1835) the scheme was reduced in size to an I-shaped plan. Nonetheless, Kenyon had the distinction of being the earliest Gothic Revival academic building in the United States.





2. Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. Lithograph of the first building, as planned by Bishop Philander Chase, Norman Nash, and Charles Bulfinch, 1826.



3. Bexley Hall (demolished), 1835, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. Designed by English architect Henry Roberts.



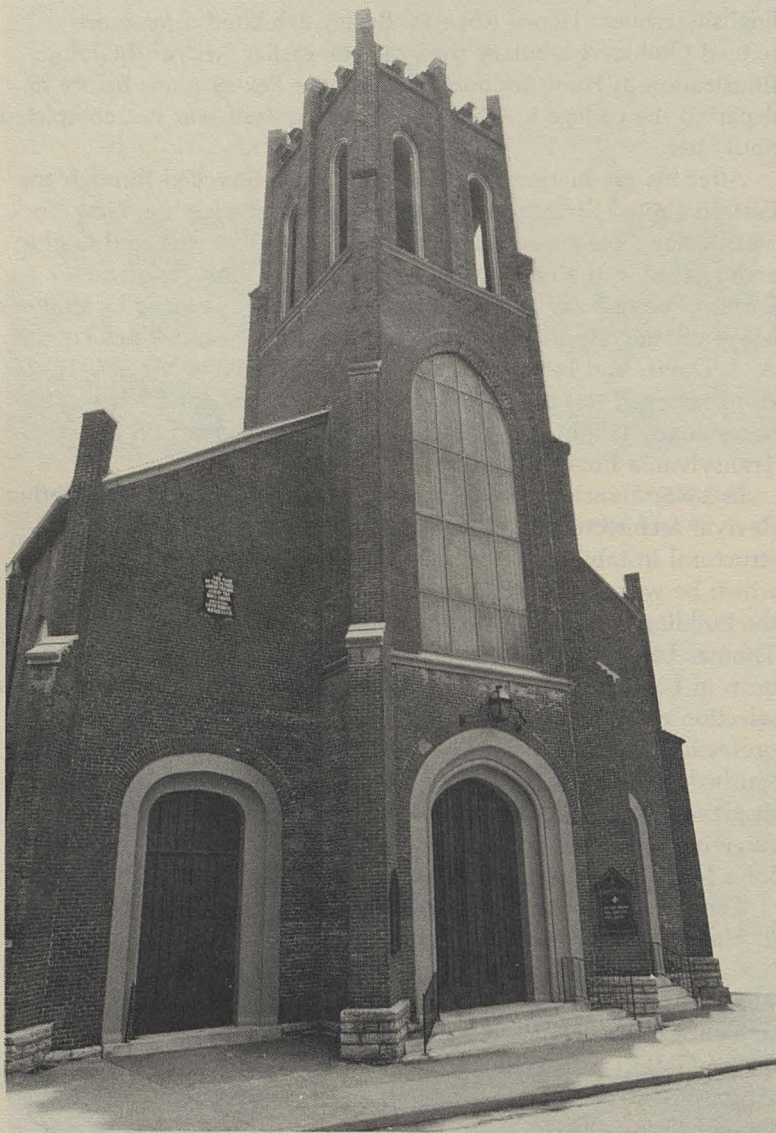
While Hunt attended Kenyon, the college began construction of a second castellated Gothic building, Bexley Hall. Designed by English architect Henry Roberts, Bexley exhibited a far more refined Gothic vocabulary than did the earlier Kenyon building. [Illustration 3] Hunt undoubtedly saw the Bexley plans before he departed the college in 1836. The building itself was not completed until later.

After his graduation from Kenyon, Hunt travelled through the Eastern United States with major stops at Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.<sup>7</sup> He surely noted the few pieces of castellated Gothic architecture in the East at that time, such as John Haviland's Eastern Penitentiary (Philadelphia, 1821-1837), Thomas U. Walter's Moyamensing Prison (Philadelphia, 1831-1835), and Ithiel Town, A. J. Davis, and James Dakin's New York University (1832-1837). Hunt returned to Lexington in 1837 where he opened a law office, occasionally taught law at Transylvania, and served on the Transylvania Board of Trustees.<sup>8</sup>

In 1845, Hunt stepped forward as the first proponent of Gothic Revival architecture in Central Kentucky. In that year, the structural instability of the old Lexington Episcopal Church, of which he was a member, necessitated its rebuilding. Hunt chaired the building committee. The committee chose Lexington architect Thomas Lewinski (ca. 1800-1882) to draw the plans. Lewinski was born in London; he arrived in Lexington in 1842.<sup>9</sup> The committee's selection of him as their designer is not surprising as no other professional architect resided in Lexington at the time. Lewinski finished the designs for Christ Church in October 1846, when Hunt displayed them in his downtown law office for the purpose of receiving bids. The committee chose as its contractor local builder John McMurtry (1812-1890).

The Christ Church design was Gothic. A later guidebook called it "the only church edifice of pure Gothic architecture in the city"; it was Lexington's first wholly Gothic building.<sup>10</sup> [Illustration 4] F. K. Hunt, as chairman of the building committee, surely exerted influence on the choice of style. By the mid-1840s, however, the use of Gothic architecture for Episcopal churches was well established. Christ Church resembles, on a small scale, earlier Episcopal churches by New York architect Richard Upjohn, such as Trinity Church, New York City (1839-1846) and Christ Church, Brooklyn (1841-1842). Upjohn, in turn, modeled his designs on English fourteenth and fifteenth century parish church models.





4. *Christ Church Episcopal, Lexington, Kentucky, 1845-1847, Thomas Lewinski, architect; F. K. Hunt, chairman of the building committee.*



In July 1847, as Christ Church neared completion, Hunt wrote to Richard Upjohn. In his letter the Kentuckian stated: "The Building Committee . . . wish to have the benefit of your skill and taste in filling the windows with stained glass."<sup>11</sup> The tone of Hunt's letter seems more significant than its subject. He appeared to be dissatisfied with Lewinski's Gothic abilities and wanted to establish contact with an eastern architect renowned for his Gothic Revival work. No letters or drawings by Upjohn for the Christ Church windows survive, so his role in their design is unknown.

In 1849, the Hunt family took its previously-mentioned trip to New York and Canada to escape the cholera epidemic in Lexington. While in New York City Hunt saw the recently-built W.C.H. Waddell Villa, sited on Murray Hill at the corner of Fifth Avenue and 37th Street.<sup>12</sup> Designed by A. J. Davis in 1844-1845, the Gothic Waddell Villa profoundly impressed Hunt. [Illustration 5] He had known and admired castellated Gothic buildings since his days at Kenyon College but had seen little application of the style to American domestic architecture. By 1849, when Hunt saw the Waddell Villa, Davis had perfected a formula for adapting a Gothic castle vocabulary to large American houses and had designed nearly a dozen castellated villas for wealthy clients throughout the eastern United States.

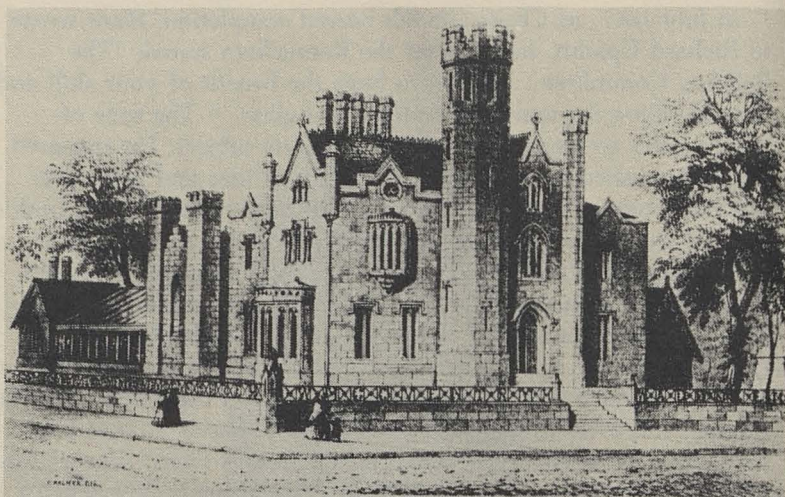
Hunt returned to Lexington in 1849 to find himself in possession of his considerable patrimony. He immediately began plans to build a castellated Gothic villa. The site was to be a wooded fifty-six acre tract a mile north of Lexington, a gift from his wife's family, the Warfields, whose estate bordered the property to the northeast.<sup>13</sup>

Given his admiration for the Waddell Villa, one might have expected Hunt to write directly to A. J. Davis. Instead, he wrote to Richard Upjohn. Probably Hunt did this because he and Upjohn had corresponded previously regarding Christ Church. As an Episcopalian Hunt knew Upjohn's Gothic churches; undoubtedly he assumed one New York Gothic Revival architect to be as good as another for designing his castellated villa. In this assumption he proved badly mistaken.

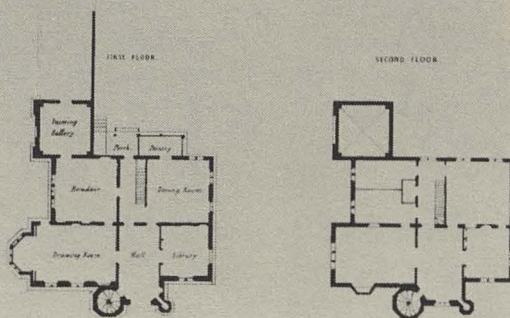
Hunt's first letter to Upjohn expressed his contempt for local Kentucky architects and, by implication, for the Grecian and Italianate villas they purveyed. He wrote:

Being about to build a residence, and having acquaintance





SUBURBAN GOTHIC VILLA, MURRAY HILL, N. Y. CITY. RESIDENCE OF W. C. H. WADDELL, ESQ.  
*J. P. Palmer del. A. J. Davis archt.*



5. W.C.H. Waddell Villa, New York City, A. J. Davis, architect,  
 1844-1845. Lithograph by Fanny Palmer from drawings by Davis. Avery  
 Library, Columbia University.



with no architect here of any merit, and not being willing to make shift with anything short of a handsome and commodious dwelling, I have determined to apply to you for a plan.

. . . . .

I should be willing to expend from \$10,000 to \$12,000 . . . . My preference is for a Gothic building. . . . I shall wish you to furnish a plan for a Gothic building and if any other style occurs to you as likely to afford the accommodation and be as handsome or more so, I should be glad if you suggest it.<sup>14</sup>

Upjohn responded cautiously:

You say you would prefer to have your house in the gothic style. If the material you have at hand is fitting I see no objection to your adopting that style providing it can be adapted to the particular locality, site, and climate.

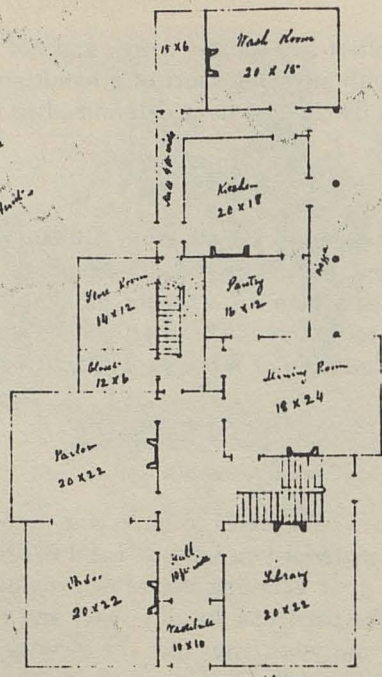
I gather from your letter that the view being extensive the ground must be pretty well elevated and that the home at some points will be conspicuous. Such a situation will require as much strength of outline and depth of shadow as will be practicable to make.

I have built several houses in the Italian style in New England and have several now proposed to be erected next year on Long Island, on the North River and other places. I adopt it finding it to answer well the comparatively limited means [i.e. budget] we have and because generally my plans are better understood by the workmen.<sup>15</sup>

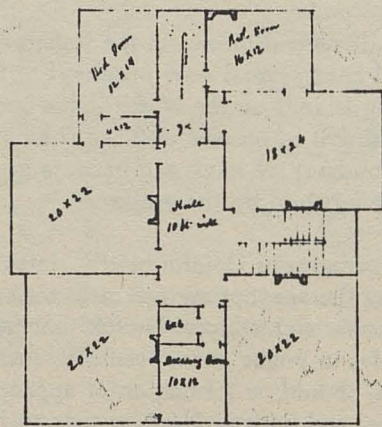
In these three paragraphs Upjohn briefly states his theories and attitudes regarding the appropriate use of historical revival styles in American domestic architecture. He felt that the use of any of the numerous styles in vogue at mid-century, such as Grecian, Gothic, or Italian, should be a function of appropriate materials, climate, landscape, and budget. His hint that an Italianate villa would be cheaper and easier for local builders to execute was prophetic; the castellated Gothic villa Hunt ultimately built cost more than he intended and caused numerous difficulties in construction.



Plan of House  
for  
Mr. F. K. Hunt



Plan of Ground Floor



Plan of 2nd Floor

6. Sketch plans by Richard Upjohn for a villa for F. K. Hunt, made between 20 December 1849 and 7 January 1850. New York Public Library.



No question existed that Hunt's and Upjohn's design process would occur by mail. The distance from New York to Kentucky was too great for the architect to make a visit. Hunt sent Upjohn a list of his functional and spatial requirements; the architect responded with several sketch floorplans which the client then commented upon and returned.<sup>16</sup> [Illustration 6]

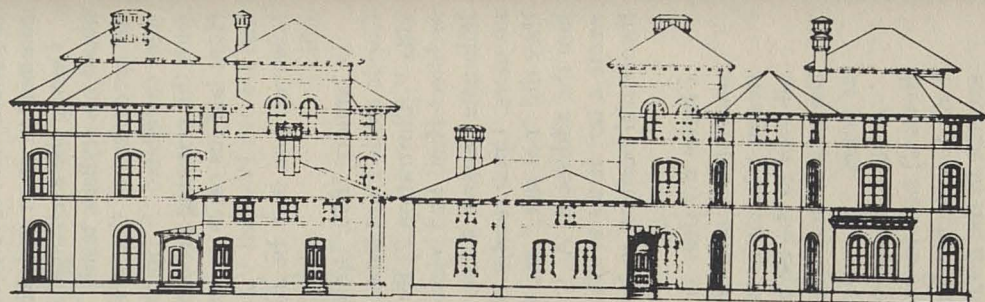
During the exchange of letters Hunt became ever more explicit about his stylistic taste: "My preference is for a Gothic building: the specimens of that style that I have seen, which I most admired, were castellated."<sup>17</sup> Upjohn, however, seemed more preoccupied with the planning process than with the style of the villa. Finally, Hunt laid his cards on the table and revealed to Upjohn that he had Davis's Waddell Villa in mind, but concluded: "Probably, however, you may be able to offer something that I may like more still."<sup>18</sup>

In January 1850, Upjohn sent elevation drawings, not for the Gothic castle Hunt expected, but for an asymmetrical Italianate villa.<sup>19</sup> [Illustration 7] By reaching outside his region for an architect Hunt had rejected the classically-derived Grecian and Italianate designs of Lewinski; Upjohn's Italianate villa pleased him no more. Upon receipt of the drawings he responded curtly that they did "not suit," and rather insensitively asked Upjohn to send him the address of A. J. Davis.<sup>20</sup> Stung by this response Upjohn wrote a tart letter to Hunt in which he clearly stated his theoretical position to his client for the first time.

I regret my dear sir that my design was not sufficiently understood, and that you have made your decision. The design was made especially in reference to the limit you had allowed to the expense, and to what I conceive would make the most suitable residence for a gentleman having such a site as yours.

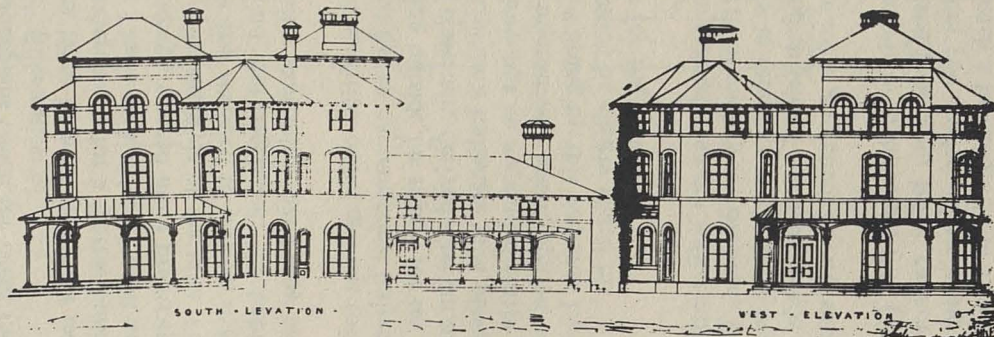
A house in the pointed style of architecture [i.e. Gothic Revival] such as you referred to in your letter, cannot be built thoroughly for the sum you named, (there being more expense in the details for such a building). I am aware that the style you selected is more likely to be chosen at first sight than mine, owing to its having more diversity of form. But this is a fault, the house being too small for such a profusion of outline, and it is questionable whether the principal parts of a house so built can be separated from the merest offices.





NORTH - ELEVATION

EAST - ELEVATION



SOUTH - ELEVATION

WEST - ELEVATION

7. Probable elevations (unexecuted) by Richard Upjohn for the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky, 1849-1850. New York Public Library.



And what should be subordinate parts of the structure are too often made the principal; real fitness of purpose in design being forced to give way to mere fancy.

. . . .

I do not wish to be understood to be opposed to pointed architecture when it is properly treated. It is capable of more variety of form and construction than any other style:—but I am most decidedly opposed to the mimic Castles, abbeys and other absurd buildings of the present age, in this Country and in Europe. Such things are detestable, and unworthy of the attention of anyone capable of appreciating *Truth* in architecture. My decision may be against me in a pecuniary point of view, but as there is much good yet to be done by a right development of the Arts, I for one will make it my study . . . to design in the most *truthful* manner such works as may be confided to my care. As to my bill, I have sent none nor shall I. I will thank you to return my plans, and designs, and letters, including this.<sup>21</sup>

Upjohn's letter is an important document in the history of American architecture, as it articulates his heretofore unknown views on the proper use of the Gothic Revival for residential commissions. His remarks can be interpreted as a criticism of castellated domestic architecture in general, and of A. J. Davis's Gothic designs in particular. By "mimic Castles" Upjohn certainly meant Davis's Waddell Villa, for which Hunt had expressed admiration.

Upjohn's moral distaste for the Gothic Revival castle as a nineteenth-century building type developed from current architectural theories. Being an Episcopal church architect led him directly into the Anglican High Church Revival and the English Ecclesiological Movement of the 1830s and 1840s. In addition to Ecclesiological dogma Upjohn relied upon the writings of the radical English architect and Gothic Revival theorist Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852).<sup>22</sup> Though Pugin and the Ecclesiologists had their differences, both agreed that the highest aim of Gothic Revival architecture was religious. To use the Gothic in other contexts they felt risked frivolity and falseness. By the 1840s, Upjohn, perhaps approaching bigotry, refused even to design



churches for congregations other than Episcopalians, because he feared they subscribed to false doctrines.<sup>23</sup> A principal source for Upjohn's moralizing approach to the Gothic Revival was A. W. Pugin's polemical treatise, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, 1841). In this work Pugin attempted to promulgate the proper moral, functional, and structural principles for a revival of Gothic architecture in the nineteenth century. The use of castellated Gothic for modern houses formed the object of Pugin's greatest animus. He observed that the defensive features of true Gothic castles resulted from the state of medieval society and military tactics; he felt it absurd to replicate those features in the elegant and comfortable mansions of the nineteenth century:

What utter contradictions do not the builders of modern castles perpetrate! How many portcullises which will not lower down and drawbridges which will not draw up!

. . . .

One side of the house machicolated parapets . . . bastions, and all the show of strong defense, and round the corner . . . a conservatory . . . through which a whole company of horsemen might penetrate at one smash into the very heart of the mansion!—for who would hammer against nailed portals when he could kick his way through the greenhouse? . . . donjon keeps which are nothing but drawing rooms . . . watchtowers where housemaids sleep and a bastion where the butler cleans his plate: all is a mere mask and the whole building an ill-conceived lie.<sup>24</sup>

The theories of "truth" and "fitness of purpose" in Upjohn's final letter to Hunt probably emanated from Pugin, but it is also possible that Upjohn had, by 1849, read John Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London and New York, 1849). In the lamps of "Truth" and "Power," Ruskin promoted an architecture true to its age, with bold and simple masses, eschewing the "false" use of one material to emulate another, such as stucco, scored and painted to resemble stone. For Pugin and Ruskin, architecture, like human character could, through its design, materials, and uses of the past, assume the moral qualities of honesty and integrity, or of

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dishonesty and falseness.

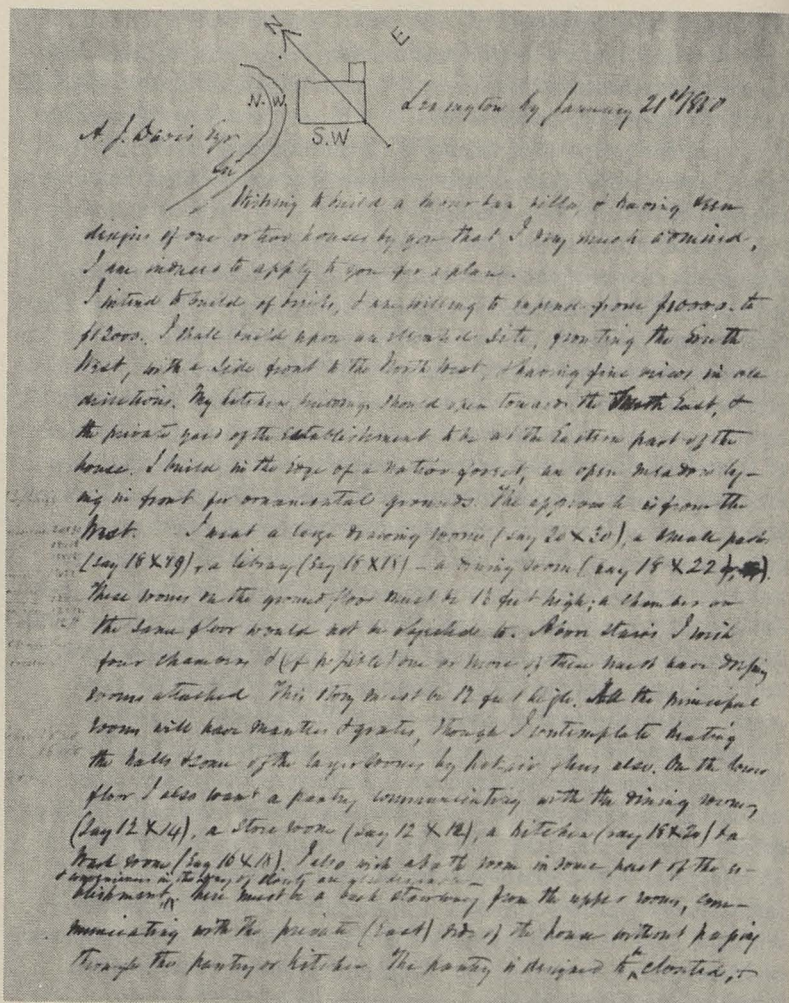
F. K. Hunt had evidently read neither Pugin nor Ruskin, and his exposure through Upjohn to this new school of Gothic Revival architectural theory puzzled him. It did not, however, dissuade him from his purpose of having a Gothic Revival castle. By the time Upjohn's moralizing letter reached Kentucky, Hunt had already written to A. J. Davis.<sup>25</sup>

Davis was one of the few American architects of the mid-nineteenth century who had no moral scruples about designing castellated Gothic houses. He designed so many, in fact, that the Gothic Revival castle is the building type for which he is best remembered today.<sup>26</sup> Davis chose to disregard Pugin's condemnation of Gothic castles as unsuitable to the nineteenth century; he also disregarded the oft-expressed view that, because of their feudal and aristocratic associations, Gothic castles were inappropriate to the new American Republic. The Gothic Revival castle was, for Davis, a compositional challenge, not a moral or cultural problem. While Upjohn valued theories of architectural morality and contextual appropriateness, Davis, by contrast, put the aesthetic preferences of his clients above abstract architectural theory. If a client requested of Davis a particular historic style or building type, whether Greek temple, Italian villa, or Gothic castle, he endeavored to satisfy them. To Upjohn, Davis's architecture must have seemed frivolous and profane; to Davis, Upjohn's theoretical rigidity and alienation of his clients must have seemed both dour and faintly ridiculous. Davis ultimately paid a price for his recalcitrant attitudes toward the current theories of architectural appropriateness: he became increasingly alienated from his own profession. But he found many clients enthralled with the idea of dwelling in Gothic castles. Like F. K. Hunt, most of these clients were wealthy, English-descended Episcopalians who, whether through their ancestry or through their contemporary positions in society, had pretensions to aristocracy.

Though Davis realized from the start that he could not visit Kentucky to view Hunt's site or to supervise construction, he did not hesitate to take the commission. His good luck with similar correspondence commissions over large distances encouraged him to assume that he and his Kentucky client could accomplish the project by mail.<sup>27</sup>

Perhaps more than any American architect of his day, Davis excelled in satisfying his clients. Hunt proved no exception. To a





8. Sketch plan by F. K. Hunt of his projected villa site, drawn at the top of a letter of 21 January 1850 to A. J. Davis. New York Public Library.

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preliminary plan and elevation from Davis, the Kentuckian responded: "I was struck and highly pleased with the appearance of the design forwarded and have no doubt you can fulfill and exceed my highest expectations in the matter."<sup>28</sup> Despite this propitious beginning, however, the design process quickly fell into a muddle from which it never quite emerged.

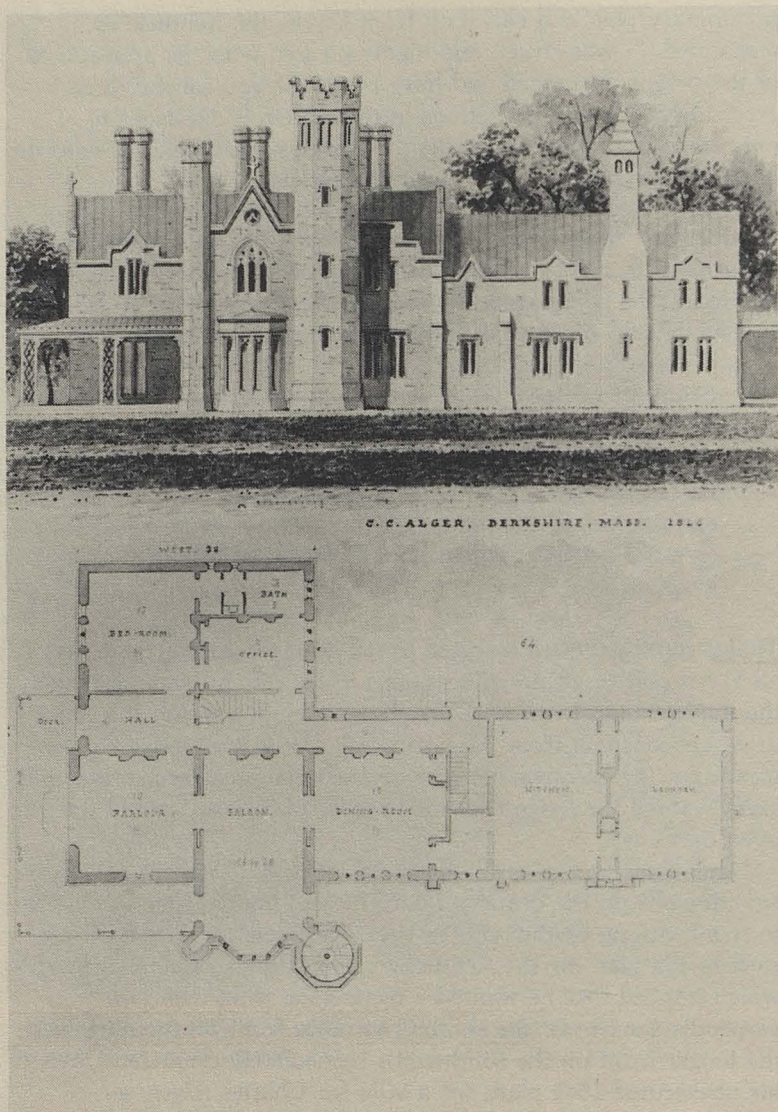
Lack of first-hand familiarity with Hunt's site put Davis at a considerable disadvantage, particularly as he developed his Gothic villa plans in direct response to the character of their surrounding landscape. To complicate matters, the Kentucky client, in his first letter to Davis, gave a misleading account of his site. Hunt wrote:

I shall build upon an elevated site, fronting the South West, with a side front to the North West, and having fine views in all directions. My kitchen buildings would open to the South East, the private yard of the establishment to be at the eastern part of the house. I build in the edge of a native forest, an open meadow lying in front for ornamental grounds.<sup>29</sup>

This description, with a sketch by Hunt at the top of the letter, is all Davis had to go on. [Illustration 8] Despite his statement that the house would front to the southwest, Hunt's sketch showed a drive approaching from the northwest. Davis interpreted this to mean that the entrance must be on the northwest facade, but that Hunt wanted the longest facade to face southwest, toward the open meadows.

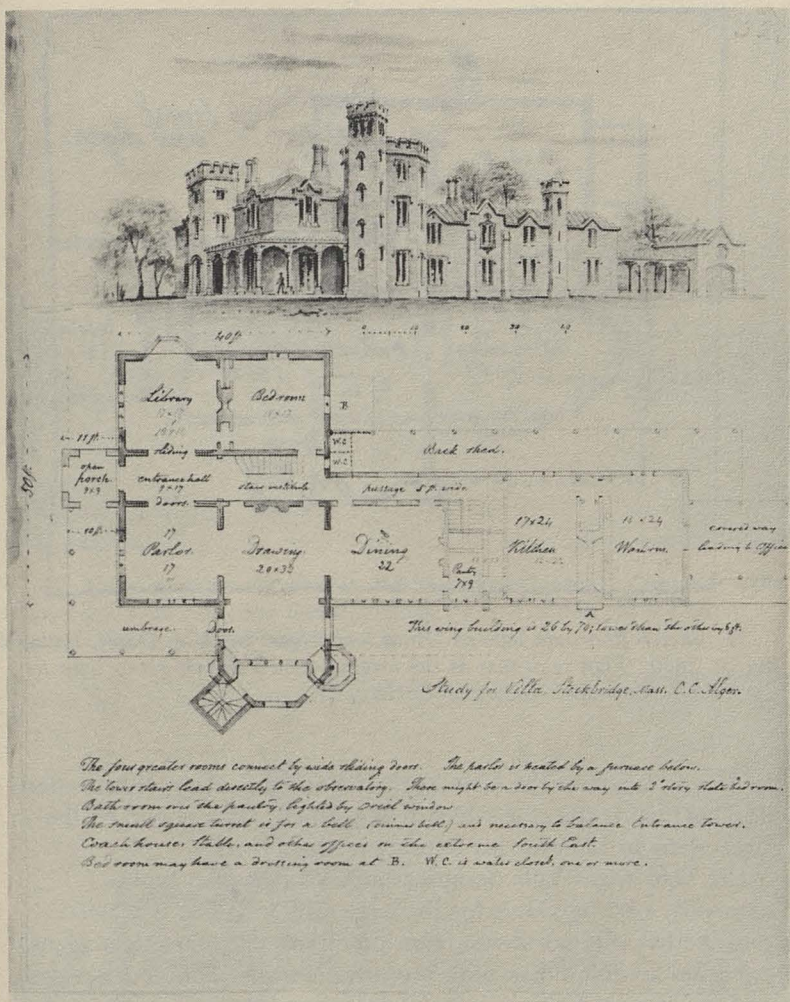
Davis's career was at its height in 1850. With dozens of commissions on the drawing board he had limited time to devote to this far-flung Gothic villa project. He therefore dusted off an earlier villa plan for the Kentucky client. Hunt's small site sketch, which implied that he wanted a rectangular villa with two perpendicular fronts (the shorter, entrance front on the northwest; the longer front on the southwest), immediately reminded Davis of his unexecuted 1846 plans for a villa for Charles Alger, a Berkshire, Massachusetts iron-foundry owner. When Davis designed the Alger Villa, he did at least two variants; though they differ in the external disposition of towers, the plans are quite similar. [Illustrations 9 and 10] The initial design which Davis sent to Hunt in Kentucky is lost (probably having been kept by the client), but a sketch plan labeled "Hunt and Alger" survives among





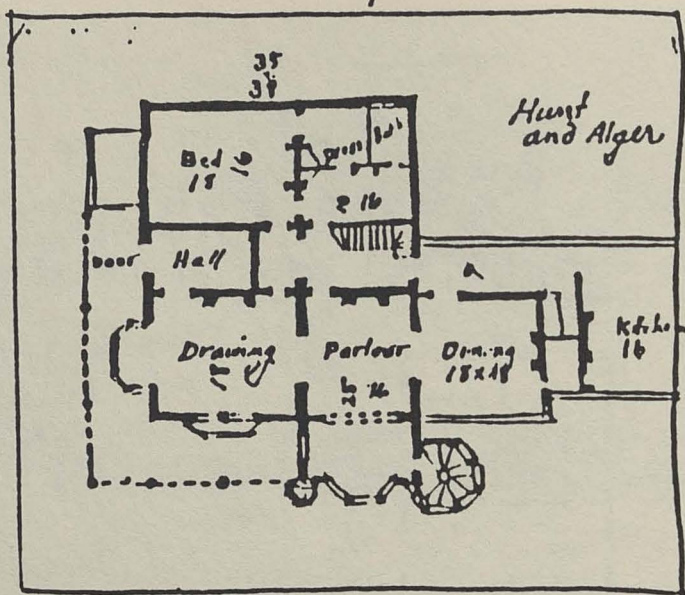
9. Plan and elevation (unexecuted) by A. J. Davis for the Charles Alger Villa, Berkshire, Massachusetts, 1846. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924.





10. Variant plan (unexecuted) by A. J. Davis for the Charles Alger Villa, Berkshire, Massachusetts, 1846. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924.



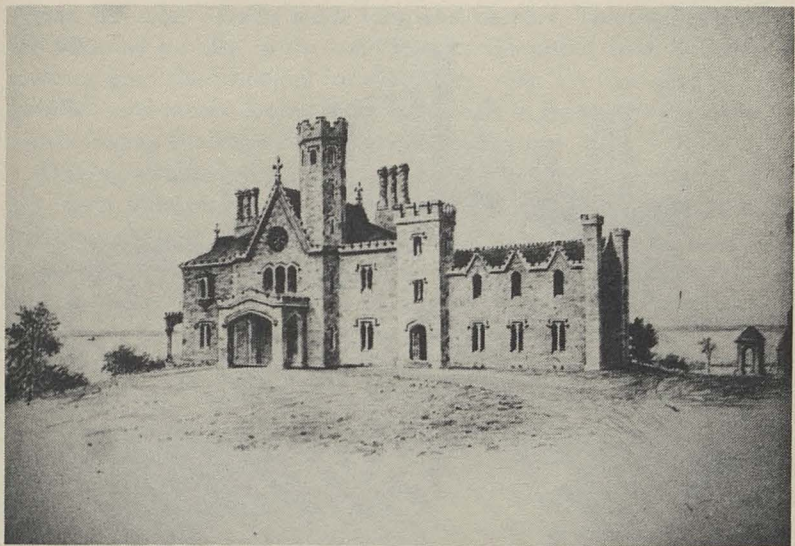


11. Sketch floorplan labeled "Hunt and Alger" by A. J. Davis, undated but ca. 1850. (Plan re-drawn as the original pencil sketch is too light to reproduce). New-York Historical Society.

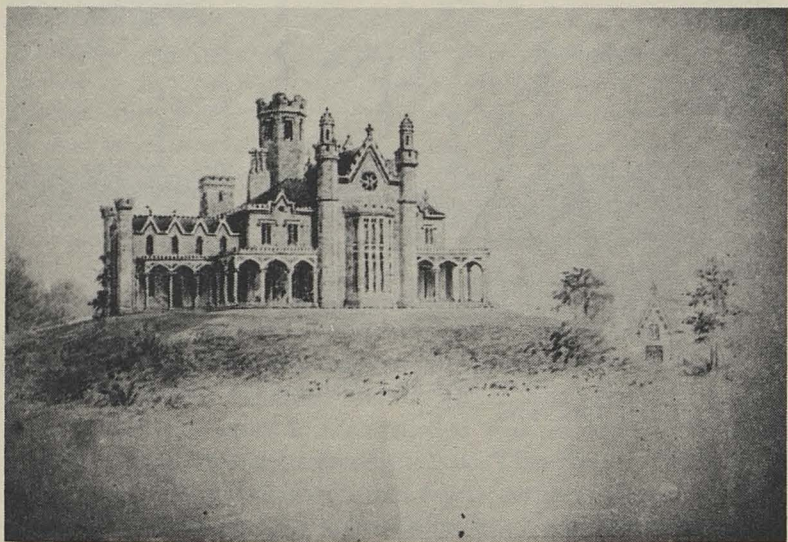
the Davis Papers in the New-York Historical Society. [Illustration 11] This plan is the clue which tells us that Davis reworked the Alger plans in 1850 for his Kentucky client.

The 1846 Alger Villa designs combined two plan types frequently used by Davis for his large Gothic villas. If viewed from the left (the northwest front on Hunt's site) the Alger plans resembled a cubic house with a central entrance hall and a rear wing containing dining room, kitchen, and laundry. Davis used this plan on semi-urban or suburban lots of limited size. The Waddell Villa is an example of this nearly symmetrical, "frontal" plan. [Illustration 5] In this "frontal" plan Davis usually grouped the towers flanking the front entrance (as at the Waddell Villa). If the Alger plans are viewed from the bottom of the sheet, however (the southwest front on Hunt's site), they resemble a plan type Davis most often used for clients who built Gothic villas on sites fronting rivers and other waterways, especially along the Hudson River and on Long Island Sound above New York City. This



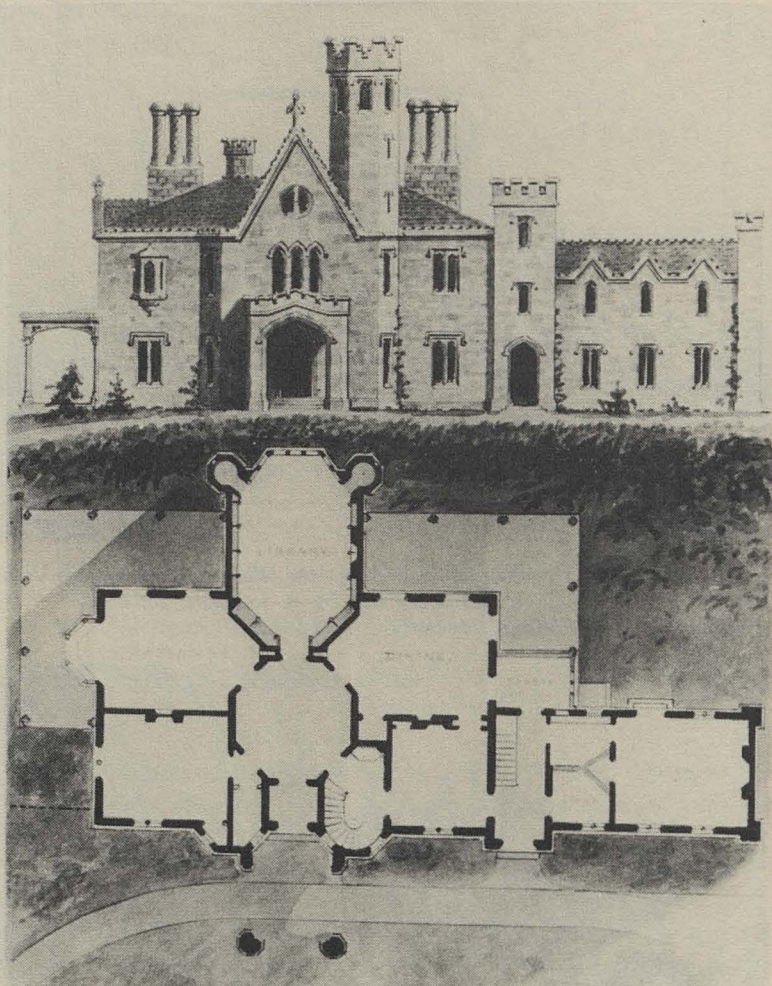


12. Road or approach front of Whitby, the William P. Chapman Villa, Rye, New York (on Long Island Sound), by A. J. Davis, 1852-1854. Avery Library, Columbia University.



13. River or bay front (facing Long Island Sound) of Whitby, the William P. Chapman Villa, Rye, New York, by A. J. Davis, 1852-1854. Avery Library, Columbia University.





14. Elevation and plan of Whitby, the William P. Chapman Villa, Rye, New York, by A. J. Davis, 1852-1854. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924.

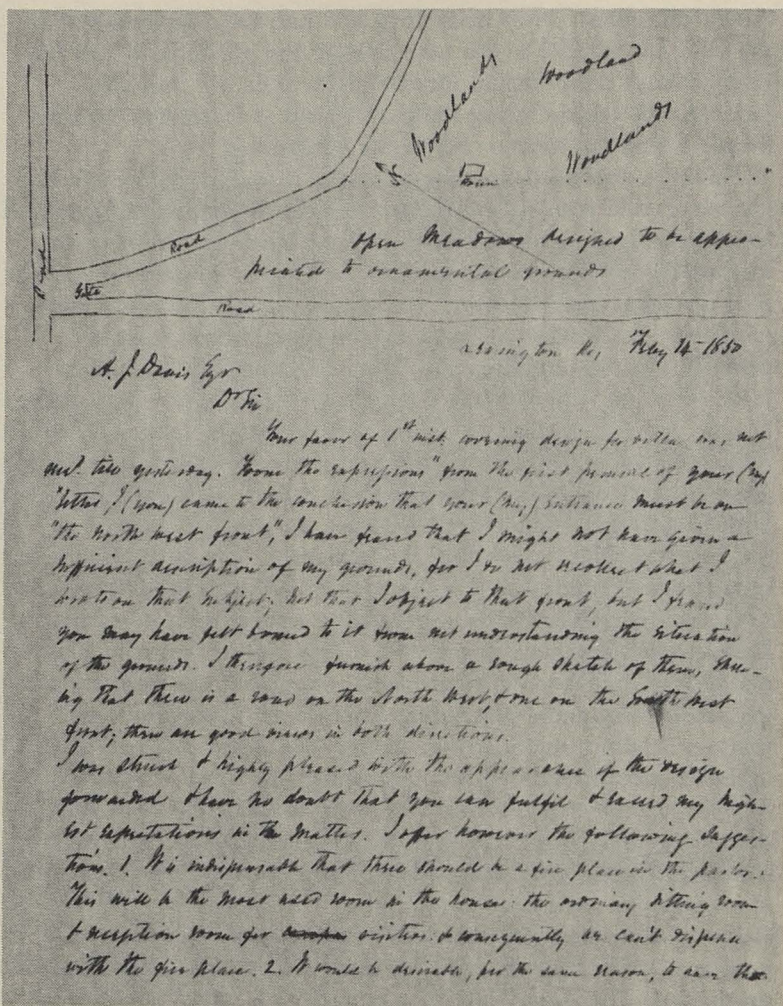


"river villa plan" Davis made long and narrow. The long axis of the villa lay parallel to the twin lines of the public road and the river or bay; the principal facades of the villa are thus also parallel, one facade facing the public road in front, the opposite facade facing the river or bay shore behind.

Having established the long road-and-river facade formula for his "river villa plan," Davis began to treat the opposing facades of his river villas in a significantly different manner. On the front toward the public road he grouped the closed, defensive elements of a medieval castle—towers, crenellated parapets and loophole windows—for a sense of impermeability and psychological privacy. On the opposite, river front he grouped bay windows, large traceried windows, floor-length window-doors, and wooden Gothic verandas (which he called "umbrages") to achieve visual openness to the beautiful river views. Thus the "road" and the "river" fronts of Davis's river villas each had a distinctive, indeed almost opposite architectural character. A good example of a Davis "river villa" is Whitby, the William P. Chapman House on Long Island Sound near Rye, New York. [Illustrations 12, 13, 14]

In his river villas Davis attached the service wing (including kitchen, pantries, etc.) to the villa's long axis so that it blocked neither the road nor the river fronts. He placed the main entrance in a cross-axial gable protruding from the entrance front and marked it with a major tower. In the 1846 Alger plans the architect substituted a protruding parlor and a bay window, between asymmetrical towers, for what would have been the entrance door and front hall on a typical river plan. By the standard of his fully-developed river plan formula, the Alger plan is a somewhat awkward compromise. The parlor-bay-window-tower unit on the long front looks as if it *should* be the main entrance, while the real main entrance is hidden under the veranda on the left. The Alger Villa thus represents a rather questionable marriage of Davis's two principal plan types, the central-hall "frontal plan" and the linear "river plan." It was a recycled version of the Alger plan which Davis mailed to Hunt in February 1850. Both client and architect referred to it as "Plan No. 1." Had the Kentuckian been satisfied with this Alger-derived "Plan No. 1" the design process would have ended there. But Hunt realized that the first sketch he sent Davis of his site had misled the architect and had confused the orientation of the plan. In his next letter the client sent a revised site plan.<sup>30</sup> [Illustration 15] This sketch





15. Improved sketch plan by F. K. Hunt of his proposed villa site, at the top of a letter of 14 February 1850, sent by him to A. J. Davis. New York Public Library.



represented Hunt's fifty-six acre site more accurately. The land lay between two Y-branching roads (the upper corresponding to the current Bryan Station Road, the lower approximating the location of the current Loudon [sic] Avenue). Woodlands bordered the site to the northeast, and sloping meadows opened to the southwest, toward the city of Lexington. In this revised site plan and letter, Hunt suggested to Davis that the main entrance of the villa could be placed on the long, southwest front.

Hunt proved a demanding client. In addition to reorienting Davis with the revised site plan, the Kentuckian requested numerous functional and spatial changes to "Plan No. 1." Though "Plan No. 1" no longer survives, its proposed exterior must have approximated the elevation of Davis's unexecuted Alger Villa design shown in Illustration 9; its floorplan must have been near that in Illustration 10. The changes Hunt requested to "Plan No. 1" are significant. They clearly show the Kentuckian as a Southern client who, despite his avant garde impulse to introduce novel architectural forms to his region through the designs of a New York architect, could not escape the more conservative social customs and domestic planning traditions of the antebellum South. "Plan No. 1," based upon the designs originally developed for Davis's Massachusetts client, tended toward openness, fluidity of space, and an intimate rapport between public and private, or "served" and "service" spaces. Hunt's requested changes to this design tended toward a more closed plan, greater segregation of the "served" and "service" spaces, and the "externalization" of many service functions into separate outbuildings which, in a northern context, were usually included within the walls of the villa itself. Ultimately, Hunt's modifications to Davis's "Plan No. 1" reflected both the impact of the Southern climate and of the South's "peculiar institution"—slavery.

Like the Alger floorplan in Illustration 10, Davis's "Plan No. 1" contained an L-shaped suite of rooms including library, entrance hall, parlor, drawing room, and dining room. All these rooms communicated by large sets of sliding double doors which, when opened, threw them together into one grand spatial flow. This arrangement eroded the distinction between "public" and "private" zones too much for the taste of the Kentucky client. He instead requested that the dining room and its adjacent service wing (containing pantries, kitchen, and laundry) be as isolated and as far as possible from the formal drawing room. Davis, perhaps



overestimating the mildness of the Kentucky climate, wanted to eliminate the formal drawing room altogether and substitute for it a "summer saloon or Hall." Hunt replied: "We can't consent (as suggested) to dispense with the drawing room. . . . It is *indispensable* that we have such a room, & *desirable* that it be somewhat more remote from the dining room." In addition, the Kentuckian requested that the parlor be more adjacent to the dining room-service wing, "for the convenience of the mistress in superintending her household affairs."<sup>31</sup>

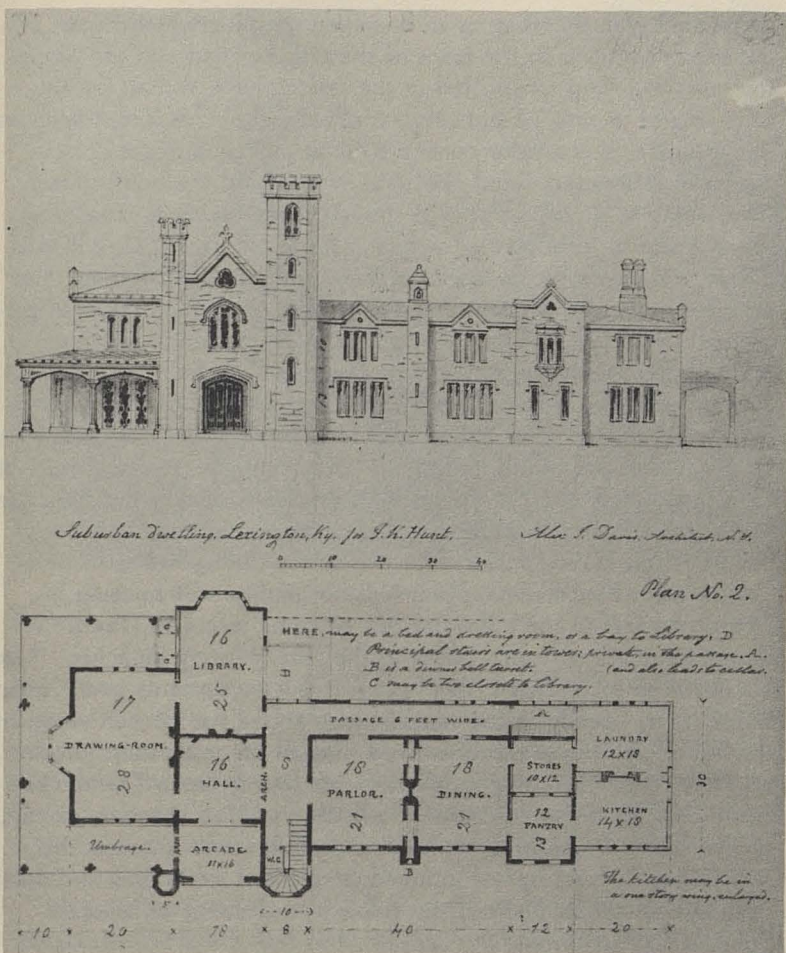
Hunt's requests reflected his desire for two distinct functional zones within the villa: a formal-public zone and a private-service zone. Visitors could thus be confined to the public areas of the hall and formal drawing room while the Negro house servants could be confined to the family and service areas of the dining room, kitchen, and laundry. Mrs. Hunt's parlor could then act as a kind of "buffer zone" between the public and private areas.

Though Hunt desired the asymmetry and novelty of a castellated Gothic exterior, he sought more conservative divisions in plan; those, in fact, of the symmetrical Greek Revival villas he had ostensibly rejected by reaching outside his state for an architect. Kentucky Greek Revival villas typically had central halls dividing their plans into two sections, a formal set of double parlors on one side and on the other side a sequence of formal dining room, informal family-room/dining room, and a kitchen ell wing. The outline of the villa Hunt sketched in his first letter to Davis suggests that he had this conservative plan in mind.

[Illustration 8] At this point in the design process, Davis's northern Gothic villa formula, with its progressive asymmetry and spatial openness, met Hunt's conservative planning prejudices head-on.

Upon receipt of Hunt's improved site plan and requests for internal changes, Davis revised his planning process considerably. On 26 February 1850, he sent Hunt two alternative plans which he called "Plan No. 2" and "Plan No. 3." The original "Plan No. 3" is lost (again, probably kept by the client), but "Plan No. 2" survives and is our first visual document of the Davis-Hunt design process. [Illustration 16] In this plan Davis abandoned the northwest "side entrance" of the Alger-derived "Plan No. 1." For it he substituted a cross-axial entrance on the villa's long (southwest) front. The resulting design, long and thin, with its main entrance in the cross gable, resembles Davis's "river plans." In "Plan No. 2" Davis also responded to Hunt's desire for a more formal and functionally





16. "Plan No. 2" for the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky, sent by A. J. Davis to Hunt in a letter of 26 February 1850. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924.



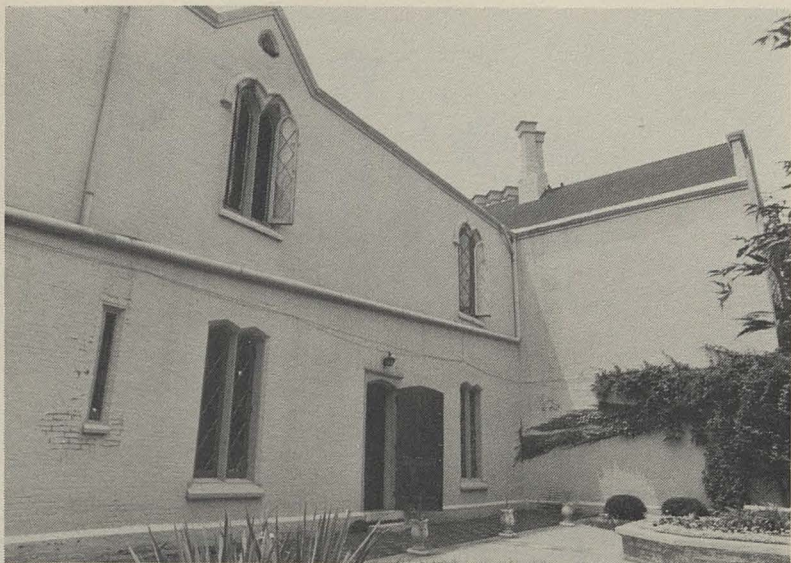
segregated plan by creating an L-shaped corridor which began at the tower staircase in the front of the villa, turned and ran along the rear wall, and terminated in the service wing containing the kitchen and laundry. Eight feet wide and eighty feet long (inclusive of the stair) this corridor consumed over 600 square feet of downstairs floorspace and effectively segregated the house into a formal-public suite of rooms to the left (hall, drawing room, and library) and a more private service suite to the right (Mrs. Hunt's parlor, dining room, pantries, kitchen, and laundry). Rather than an open sequence of interconnected spaces, as in the earlier, Alger-derived "Plan No. 1," the new "Plan No. 2" became a series of isolated rooms, each opening onto the spine-like hall. It is no accident that the words "formal" and "segregated" can be applied equally to Hunt's revised villa plan, and to race and class relations in the antebellum South. "Plan No. 2" effectively created a suite of formal rooms to the left for visitors, service rooms to the right for the Negro servants, and between them the buffer zone of Hunt's library, Mrs. Hunt's parlor, and the family dining room.

Like most Southerners, Hunt had no intention of housing his Negro servants in the villa. On this score he wrote to Davis: "I design having a servant's house in the rear, entirely detached."<sup>32</sup> In his northern villas Davis always quartered the servants in the main house itself, usually in the second story above the kitchen wing. In the South, the house servants lived outside the main mansion, in quarters, with their own families. In his first letter to Davis, Hunt mentioned his intent to create a "private yard" to the rear, or east, of the villa.<sup>33</sup> In addition to the detached servants' quarters this service yard would have contained smoke and ice houses and other outbuildings. Hunt planned the stable at a distance of several hundred feet to the east.<sup>34</sup>

Due to the existence of slavery and to the externalization of services consequent upon a mild climate, the service yard was a Southern planning convention. Understandably, Hunt did not want any of the principal rooms of his villa looking onto this rear service yard. Though slavery provided the manpower to operate large country houses, Southerners did not care to focus visual attention upon it. This attitude was perhaps more prevalent in the states of the border South; in the Deep South there is evidence that planters viewed their slaves as an indication of wealth and displayed them more conspicuously.

The necessity of a service yard to the "rear" or northeast side of





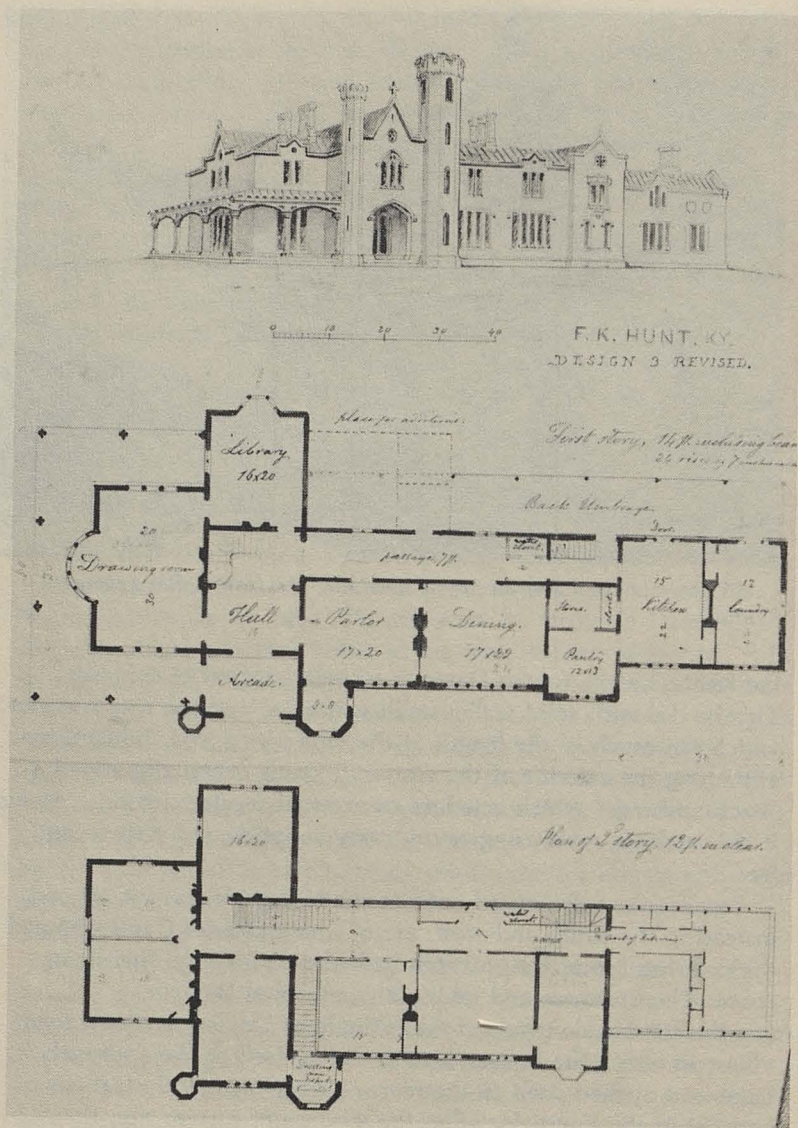
17. *Rear or northeast facade of Loudoun, the Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky.*

the Kentucky site forced Davis to visually seal off that facade. This he did with solid walls, small windows, and the rear corridor, which ran much of the length of the villa's long axis. [Illustration 17] Along the exterior of the rear wall Davis eventually added a "back umbrage" which acted as an external service corridor. Along it the servants could congregate, carry supplies, and pass to and fro.

Because the villa closed itself to the rear (northeast) it opened instead to the south and west, along which facades Davis grouped the drawing room, the entrance hall, the parlor, and the dining room. The openness and multiple windows of the front (southwest) facade reversed the formula of Davis's northern river villas, in which the house visually closed itself to the approach front and opened itself to the rear, or river front. [Illustrations 12 and 13] In the Kentucky villa, the absence of a river site, the presence of slavery, and the existence of the service yard caused a complete inversion of Davis's northern river plan which, in any event, he should never have used in this physical and cultural context.

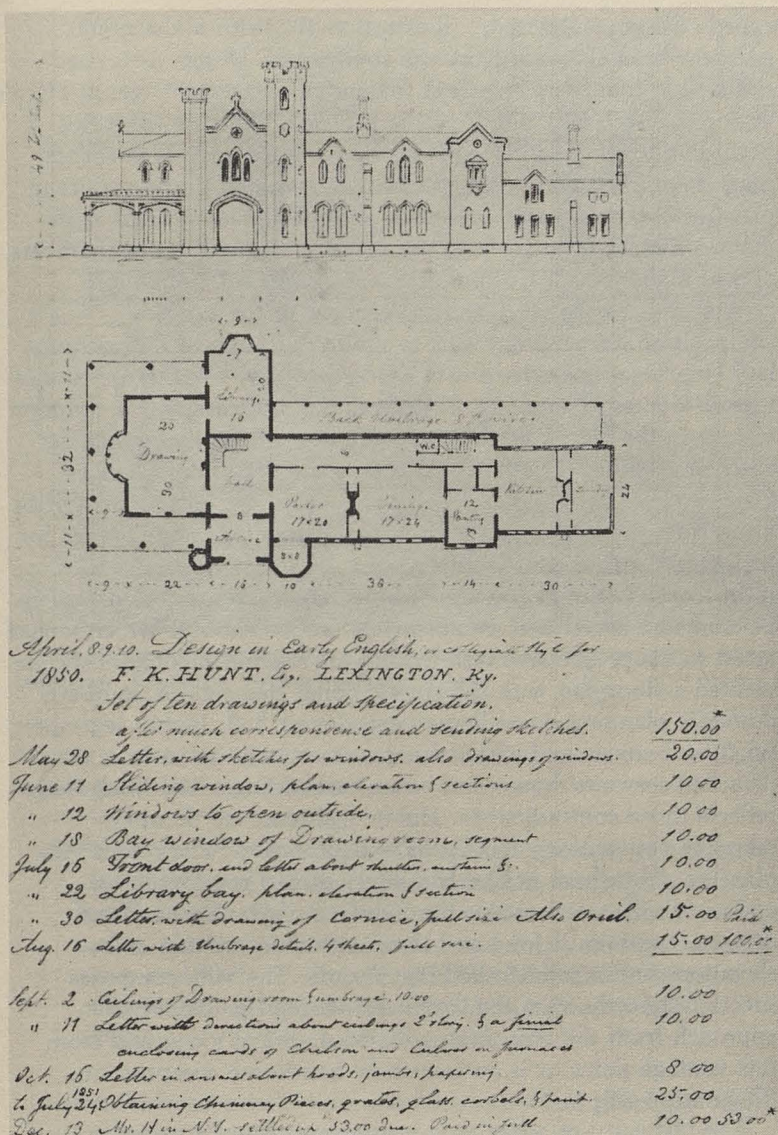
At Hunt's request, Davis executed yet another plan, which he





18. "Design 3 Revised" for the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky, sent by A. J. Davis to Hunt in a letter of 18 March 1850. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924.





19. Final plan and elevation of Loudoun, the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky, entered by A. J. Davis in his Office Journal (or "Diary"). Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924.



called "Design 3 Revised." [Illustration 18] With a charming perspective of the villa from the southwest, "Design 3 Revised" is similar to "Plan No. 2" except for one important change: at Hunt's urging the architect withdrew the principal staircase from the octagonal tower and placed it in the entrance hall. This change must have irked Davis, who studiously avoided placing stairs in prominent central halls. He much preferred placing them in the main tower so as to increase the privacy of the upstairs chambers, and to make the villa's interior route of vertical circulation conspicuous as the chief vertical element of the exterior composition. In forcing Davis to move the stairs to the entrance hall Hunt again asserted his more conservative Southern attitudes toward domestic planning. A central hall staircase was a common feature in the Neoclassical country houses of Kentucky and the antebellum South generally. After a few more minor changes, Davis entered the final design for the Kentucky villa in his Office Journal or "Diary," along with a list of drawings and charges for the project.<sup>35</sup> [Illustration 19]

In the end, Hunt's impulses proved contradictory. Consciously, he wanted a novel and asymmetrical Gothic exterior which would attest to his progressive taste within his region; unconsciously, he wanted a floorplan with the conventional elements of Southern domestic planning, including a central stair hall, highly segregated functional zones, and externalized service facilities such as the detached servants' house and other outbuildings. The final design reflects those contradictions. Hunt's insistence on Southern planning conventions and Davis's adaptation of a northern villa plan for a Southern site he had never visited resulted in an awkward villa—at least by the standard of Davis's northern designs. Loudoun is long and thin, with uninteresting end elevations and a solid-walled rear facade. The villa composes successfully only from the southwest. Being the avenue of approach from the city, that is its most critical view, and from this vantage point, it is an extremely handsome composition. [Illustration 20]

The difficulty of adapting a northern architect's planning formulas to a Kentucky context was not the only problem faced by the southern client. Hunt experienced numerous construction difficulties as the building progressed. Fortunately he hired the competent and conscientious John McMurtry as his builder; even so, the Kentuckian's letters to Davis manifested considerable





20. Nineteenth-century photograph of Loudoun, the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky. Lexington Public Library.

anxiety about the construction process. When requesting working drawings of Davis, Hunt wrote:

Be as minute and explicit as possible; especially in regard to such matters as our mechanics would be least likely to be familiar with: door frames, bays and oriel, window frames, sashes, shutters, casings, bases, mouldings, arrangement of eaves and roof . . . &c. &c. &c. We have had little or no gothic building here, and our builders know scarcely anything of the details of such structures.<sup>36</sup>

Difficulties did arise. Hunt and McMurtry had problems with Davis's designs for windows intended to slide into hollow-bond brick walls, they never understood the workings of pointed-arched interior shutters, and they had to recalculate the angle of rise of the staircase.<sup>37</sup> Davis's instructions could not always be followed by local craftsmen. The New York architect recommended that the brick walls of the villa be stuccoed and scored to resemble ashlar



masonry; Hunt could not find adequate stucco workers so he painted the walls white and dusted sand on the wet paint to produce a creamy-colored simulation of stucco.<sup>38</sup>

Hunt had many of the decorative elements of the villa shipped from New York under Davis's supervision. These included plain and enameled window glass, plaster ornaments, marble paving tile, and marble mantelpieces designed by Davis. In December of 1851, Hunt visited Davis in New York with the purpose of shopping for furnishings. Davis did "Drawings of Upholstry of Windows" and may have designed some of the decorative schemes and furniture for Hunt's rooms, though his exact role in this regard is unknown.<sup>39</sup> In any event, Hunt introduced at Loudoun the most exotic and spectacular domestic interiors yet seen in Kentucky. The large drawing room, especially, must have astonished visitors. Twenty feet wide by thirty feet long, it had a fifteen foot high beamed ceiling with gilded and stencilled designs; grape-pattern enameled glass bordered the clear diamond panes of the windows; an enormous overmantel mirror and two floor-to-ceiling pier mirrors in gilded Gothic frames visually dissolved the solid wall surfaces on either side of the bay window while a matching gilded drapery lambrequin spanned the arch of the bay itself. The bay projected into the shadowy spatial volume of the umbrage, which encircled three sides of the drawing room. Floor-length windows on the north and south walls slid open to allow guests to circulate freely from the interior to the umbrage. Hunt probably finished this palatial room consistently with Gothic Revival furnishings.<sup>40</sup>

If Loudoun led Kentucky residences in its decor, it was also in the vanguard of domestic technology. Kitchen and laundry were directly attached to the main house, running water and water closets existed both upstairs and down, and a gravity furnace in the cellar heated several of the principal rooms.

\*     \*     \*

Loudoun is an intriguing paradox. It introduced a wholly new architectural vocabulary, new compositional methods, and new building technologies to Kentucky. Indeed, the villa came into being as the gesture of a progressive client who decided to introduce to his region a foreign building type and style. Ultimately, however, neither client nor architect could escape the planning imperatives dictated by southern environmental and



cultural conditions. Loudoun presents a fascinating study in the distortion of Davis's northern domestic formulas as they crossed the cultural barrier into the antebellum South. While the completed villa is a considerable compromise of Davis's Gothic Revival planning principles, it is an extremely important comment upon the tensions inherent between North and South in the decade immediately preceding the Civil War. These tensions were not merely political or economic but were in the largest sense cultural. Loudoun is a "northern" villa inserted into a "Southern" context at a critical time in the history of North-South relations. That the house exists at all is a tribute to Hunt's persistence as a client and to Davis's flexibility as an architect.

The design process for Loudoun, as an historical document, is as important as is the building itself. Because the design occurred entirely by mail, the Kentucky villa is one of the best-documented pieces of American domestic architecture to survive from the nineteenth century. Hunt and Davis exchanged over thirty letters, totalling almost a hundred pages of correspondence before the completion of the house. Hunt's correspondence with Richard Upjohn is also significant. It reveals for the first time Upjohn's negative attitude toward castellated Gothic villas, and it is the only known episode in which the two most famous Gothic Revival architects in America were inadvertently pitted against each other on the same design commission.

F.K. Hunt exerted a monumental effort to introduce castellated Gothic architecture to Kentucky. Perhaps the most telling indication of that effort is the price he paid. In his first letter to Richard Upjohn, Hunt expressed his willingness "to expend from \$10,000 to \$12,000" for his villa. When completed, Loudoun had cost him in excess of \$30,000, an extraordinary sum for a piece of residential architecture in that period.<sup>41</sup> But Hunt had no regrets. Perhaps the ultimate measure of success in a building is the pleasure it brings to its patron. On 26 May 1852 Hunt wrote to Davis: "My house is almost finished. . . . It is a beautiful structure & commands universal admiration as certainly the handsomest building in Kentucky."<sup>42</sup>



### LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Francis Key Hunt (1817-1879) by M. W. Clark. Portrait in the collection of the Blue Grass Trust for Historic Preservation, Hunt-Morgan House, Lexington, Kentucky.
2. Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. Lithograph of the first building as planned by Bishop Philander Chase, Norman Nash, and Charles Bulfinch, 1826. Collection of the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.
3. Bexley Hall (demolished), 1835, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio. Designed by Henry Roberts. Photograph in the collection of the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.
4. Christ Church Episcopal, Lexington, Kentucky, 1845-1847. Thomas Lewinski, architect; F. K. Hunt, chairman of the building committee.
5. W.C.H. Waddell villa, New York City, A. J. Davis, architect, 1844-1845. Lithograph by Fanny Palmer from drawings by Davis. Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York, A. J. Davis Collection II, 6-2.
6. Sketch plans by Richard Upjohn for a villa for F. K. Hunt, made between 20 December 1849 and 7 January 1850. Richard Upjohn & Richard Michel Upjohn Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.
7. Probable elevations (unexecuted), 1849-1850, by Richard Upjohn for the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington. Richard Upjohn & Richard Michel Upjohn Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.
8. Sketch plan by F. K. Hunt of his projected villa site, drawn at the top of a letter of 21 January 1850 to A. J. Davis. Alexander Jackson Davis Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.
9. Plan and elevation (unexecuted), 1846, by A. J. Davis for the Charles Alger Villa, Berkshire, Massachusetts. Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. J. Davis Collection, Vol. VII, Leaf 35, Accession No. 24.66.1401 (12), Negative No. MM74073B.
10. Variant plan (unexecuted), 1846, by A. J. Davis for the Charles Alger Villa, Berkshire, Massachusetts. Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. J. Davis Collection, Vol. V, Leaf 49, Accession No. 24.66.1404, Negative No. MM74075B.



11. Sketch floorplan, undated but ca. 1850, labeled "Hunt and Alger" by A. J. Davis. New-York Historical Society, A. J. Davis Collection, No. 566 (plan re-drawn as the original pencil sketch is too light to reproduce).
12. Road or approach front of Whitby, the William P. Chapman Villa, Rye, New York (on Long Island Sound), by A. J. Davis, 1852-1854. Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York, A. J. Davis Collection II, 26-1.
13. River or bay front of Whitby, the William P. Chapman Villa, Rye, New York, by A. J. Davis, 1852-1854. Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University in the City of New York, A. J. Davis Collection II, 26-2.
14. Elevation and plan of Whitby, the William P. Chapman Villa, Rye, New York, by A. J. Davis, 1852-1854. Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. J. Davis Collection, Office Journal, Vol. II, Leaf 42, Accession No. 24.66.1401.
15. Sketch plan by F. K. Hunt of his proposed villa site, at the top of a letter of 14 February 1850 sent by him to A. J. Davis. Alexander Jackson Davis Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.
16. "Plan No. 2" for the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky, sent by A. J. Davis to Hunt in a letter of 26 February 1850. Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. J. Davis Collection, Vol. V, Leaf 50, Accession No. 24.66.1404, Negative No. MM57887B.
17. Rear or northeast facade of Loudoun, the Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky. Photograph, 1989.
18. "Design 3 Revised" for the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky, sent by A. J. Davis to Hunt in a letter of 18 March 1850. Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. J. Davis Collection, Vol. XVII, Leaf 77, Accession No. 24.66.1416, Negative No. MM57895B.
19. Final plan and elevation of Loudoun, the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky, entered in A. J. Davis's Office Journal or "Diary." Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. J. Davis Collection, Diary, Vol. I, p. 116, Accession No. 24.66.1400, Negative No. MM57884B.
20. Nineteenth-century photograph of Loudoun, the F. K. Hunt Villa, Lexington, Kentucky, ca. 1888. Collection of the Lexington Public Library.



## NOTES

For assistance with this article I would like to thank Mr. Clay Lancaster, Salvisa, Kentucky; Mrs. Jane B. Davies, New York City; Mr. Thomas Greenslade, Archivist, Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio; Ms. Pamela Scott, Washington, D.C.; Mr. Walter Langsam, Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. John Clubbe, Department of English, University of Kentucky; Mr. William B. Scott, Jr., Frankfort, Kentucky; and Mrs. Jeannine Omohundro, Department of Human Environment, University of Kentucky.

This article is developed in part from research for my Ph.D. dissertation, "A.J. Davis and the Gothic Revival Castle in America, 1832-1865" (Cornell University, 1988).

<sup>1</sup>Letter, 6 July 1849, to John Wesley Hunt, Lexington, from one of his grandchildren (unsigned), written from Donneganna House, Montreal, Canada. University of Kentucky Libraries, Department of Special Collections, Hunt-Morgan Family Papers. The letter-writer, eleven years old, mentions travelling with "Uncle Frank" and "Aunt Julia"—Francis Key and Julia G. Hunt.

<sup>2</sup>On John Wesley Hunt see James A. Ramage, *John Wesley Hunt, Pioneer Merchant, Manufacturer and Financier* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1974). Also, Ramage, "The Hunts and Morgans: A Study of a Prominent Kentucky Family," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1972. J. W. Hunt died 21 August 1849, *Lexington Observer and Reporter*, 22 August 1849.

<sup>3</sup>This portrait of F. K. Hunt, now in the collection of the Blue Grass Trust for Historic Preservation—Hunt-Morgan House, is probably the same one given by the widowed Julia Hunt in 1887 to adorn the walls of the Circuit Courtroom of the Fayette County Courthouse, *Lexington Daily Transcript*, 18 June 1887.

<sup>4</sup>On Gratz Park at the corner of Mill and Second Streets, now owned by the Blue Grass Trust for Historic Preservation. See Clay Lancaster, *Ante Bellum Houses of the Bluegrass* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1961), pp. 47-49.

<sup>5</sup>The Transylvania College Catalogue of January 1831, lists Hunt as a student. The *Catalogus Senatus Academici . . . Collegio Kenyonensi* (Kenyon College Cumulative Catalogue of 1825-1837, Gambier, Ohio, 1837), lists Hunt as graduating Kenyon in the class of 1836.

<sup>6</sup>Richard G. Salomon, "Philander Chase, Norman Nash, and Charles Bulfinch, A Study in the Origins of Old Kenyon," *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, Vol. 15; Salomon, "The Old Halls of Kenyon College," *American Antiques Journal*, September 1946; Eric Johannsen, *Ohio College Architecture Before 1870* (Columbus: The Ohio Historical Society, 1969).

<sup>7</sup>Letter, Francis Key Hunt, Gambier, Ohio, to John Wesley Hunt, Lexington, 4 September 1836. The Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky, Hunt-Morgan Papers, Ellen Key Howard Morgan Section, Folder 5.

<sup>8</sup>Ramage, "The Hunts and the Morgans," p. 146; *Lexington Kentucky*



*Gazette*, 5 January 1837 and 28 February 1839; H. Levin, *The Lawyers and Lawmakers of Kentucky* (Chicago: Lewis Co., 1897), p. 633.

<sup>9</sup>Clay Lancaster, "Major Thomas Lewinski: Emigre Architect of Kentucky," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 11(December 1952): 13-20. Lewinski's designs for Christ Church are also mentioned in the architect's own Professional Diary or Account Book for 1845-1847, now in the University of Kentucky Libraries, Department of Special Collections.

<sup>10</sup>George Washington Ranck, *Guide to Lexington, Kentucky* (Lexington, 1884), p. 53. When Ranck made this statement he probably meant the only church in Lexington derived from wholly English Gothic sources. By 1884, other Lexington church buildings had employed complete Gothic vocabularies.

<sup>11</sup>Letter, F.K. Hunt, Lexington, to Richard Upjohn, New York City, 22 July 1847, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers.

<sup>12</sup>We know that Hunt saw the Waddell Villa from letters he wrote both to Richard Upjohn and to A. J. Davis. Letter, Hunt to Upjohn, 20 December 1849, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers; letter, Hunt to Davis, 21 January 1850, New York Public Library, A.J. Davis Papers.

<sup>13</sup>Mrs. Hunt was born Julia G. Warfield, daughter of Dr. Elisha Warfield of "The Meadows." She and F. K. Hunt married in 1840, *Lexington Observer and Reporter*, 27 June 1840. From 1843 to approximately 1850 the Hunts lived in a Greek Revival cottage on Barr Street in Lexington. Clay Lancaster, *Ante Bellum Houses of the Bluegrass*, pp. 110-12.

<sup>14</sup>Letter, Hunt to Upjohn, 17 October 1849, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers.

<sup>15</sup>Letter, Upjohn to Hunt, 30 October 1849, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers.

<sup>16</sup>The complete Hunt-Upjohn correspondence regarding Hunt's villa consists of ten letters, dating from 17 October 1849 to 14 February 1850. Upjohn sent a total of four floorplan sketches in his letters to Hunt of 16 November 1849 and 7 January 1850, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers.

<sup>17</sup>Letter, Hunt to Upjohn, 6 November 1849, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers.

<sup>18</sup>Letter, Hunt to Upjohn, 20 December 1849, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers.

<sup>19</sup>Letter, Upjohn to Hunt, 7 January 1850, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers. The sheet of four elevation drawings of an Italianate villa filed with this letter are unlabeled; consequently, it is impossible to state with absolute certainty that they are the designs Upjohn sent to Hunt. They are, however, folded to envelope size, and they correspond closely to the sketch floorplans Upjohn sent Hunt in a letter of 16 November 1849. Upjohn may have re-used this villa design for a later client, as there is an ink and watercolor wash perspective of it (also unlabeled) in the Avery Library, Columbia University, New York City, Richard Upjohn Collection.



<sup>20</sup>Letter, Hunt to Upjohn, 21 January 1850, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers.

<sup>21</sup>Letter, Upjohn to Hunt, 1 February 1850, New York Public Library, Richard Upjohn Papers.

<sup>22</sup>For the best discussion of Upjohn's relationship to the English Ecclesiological Society (and its American counterpart, the New York Ecclesiological Society) and his reliance on Pugin see Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste, 1840-1856* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), pp. 61-66. Also, Stanton, *Pugin* (New York: Viking Press, 1972).

<sup>23</sup>Everard M. Upjohn, *Richard Upjohn: Architect and Churchman* (1939; rpt. New York: Da Capo, 1968), pp. 81-88. Though Upjohn had, earlier in his career, designed Gothic residences (Oaklands, Gardiner, Maine, 1835; Kingscote, Newport, Rhode Island, 1838), by the 1840s, he had moved entirely to a simple Italianate style for houses, apparently feeling that the Gothic should be reserved for ecclesiastical commissions.

<sup>24</sup>Augustus Welby Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, 1841), pp. 67-68.

<sup>25</sup>Clay Lancaster, in 1941, discovered that A.J. Davis designed Hunt's Loudoun. Previous writers had attributed the house to Lexington builder-architect John McMurtry who was, in fact, Hunt's contractor. See Clay Lancaster, "Three Gothic Revival Houses at Lexington," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 6 (January-June 1947): 13-21; Lancaster, "The Homes of Francis Key Hunt," *Antiques* 57 (January 1950): 42-44; and Lancaster, *Ante Bellum Houses of the Bluegrass*, pp. 121-24.

<sup>26</sup>Davis's series of Gothic castles began in 1832 when he and his partner Ithiel Town designed Glen Ellen, the first castellated villa in America, for Baltimore client Robert Gilmore. Davis's most famous castellated villa is Lyndhurst (originally called Knoll, 1838-1842 and 1864-1867), at Tarrytown, New York, now owned by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Between 1832 and 1857 Davis designed a total of fifteen Gothic Revival castles which were built by American clients.

<sup>27</sup>Hunt's first letter to Davis (21 January 1850, New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers) resembled his initial letter to Upjohn. In it the Kentuckian set forth his functional and spatial requirements, and mentioned that he had seen the Waddell Villa in New York City and had a "sketch" of it, presumably a copy of the lithograph of the Waddell Villa made by Fanny Palmer after drawings by Davis, first published by Edward Jones and E. S. Palmer and later by N. Currier. [Illustration 5] Hunt also mentioned, in his first letter to Davis, seeing a "beau idéal villa" design by the architect, published in Andrew Jackson Downing's *Cottage Residences* (New York, 1842). This design, which Hunt thought "very beautiful" was for Kenwood, the Joel Rathbone Villa, at Albany, New York, designed by Davis in 1842. Hunt sent sixteen letters to Davis regarding Loudoun between 21 January 1850 and 26 May 1852. These letters survive in the New York Public Library. Davis's letters to Hunt are lost, but Davis recorded having sent seventeen letters to Kentucky. New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers, Day Book, 28 January 1850 to 24 January 1852.



<sup>28</sup>Letter, Hunt to Davis, 14 February 1850, New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers.

<sup>29</sup>Letter, Hunt to Davis, 21 January 1850, New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers.

<sup>30</sup>Letter, Hunt to Davis, 14 February 1850, New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Letter, Hunt to Davis, 21 January 1850, New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers.

<sup>34</sup>Loudoun's stable still survives, although the other outbuildings have disappeared. A gymnasium built in the 1930s now covers the original service yard to the north and east of the villa.

<sup>35</sup>Davis's total charge to Hunt for drawings and correspondence was \$303.00, Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. J. Davis Collection, "Diary," Vol. I, p. 116.

<sup>36</sup>Letter, Hunt to Davis, 25 March 1850, New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers.

<sup>37</sup>Letters, Hunt to Davis, 5 June 1850, 12 June 1850, 23 July 1850, 19 March 1851, New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers. Hollow bond brick walls were a specialty of Ithiel Town and A. J. Davis. At Loudoun the walls are three bricks in thickness, the hollow space is one brick-width in thickness next to the brick layer of the inner wall. The dead air of this hollow space acted effectively to insulate and keep moisture from the villa. Hunt's contractor, McMurtry, often employed this system after his work on Loudoun.

<sup>38</sup>Julia G. Hunt described this process in a letter of 12 July 1882 to Davis, Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. J. Davis Collection. In 1984 I had the privilege of assisting with a renovation and conversion of Loudoun into the home of the Lexington Art League. During the exterior cleaning and repainting of the villa we discovered large areas of the original sanded paint under numerous later paint layers. Though our budget did not permit replication of the original sanded-paint process, we approximated the original creamy color with exterior latex.

<sup>39</sup>A. J. Davis Professional Diary (also called Day Book), p. 4, 11-13 December 1851 and p. 476, December 1851, New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers.

Hunt opened an account with Davis who purchased for him enameled window glass in grape and oak leaf patterns from John Bolton of the Bolton glass works, Pelham Priory, New Rochelle, New York. The Bolton family was the first designer-manufacturer of stained and enameled glass in the United States. A few unbroken pieces of this glass remained in the front doors of Loudoun; in the 1984 restoration these pieces were reinserted in the door and augmented by new solid-colored glass. The remaining pieces are now in the Department of Special Collections, University of Kentucky Libraries.

Photographs taken by Clay Lancaster in 1941 show the drawing room ceiling stencilled in elaborate painted and gilded patterns (see Lancaster, *Ante Bellum Houses of the Bluegrass*, "Album of Photographs"). Other



Davis villas such as Lyndhurst, Tarrytown, New York, have similar stencilled ceilings; it is possible that Davis provided Hunt with the designs. In a letter of 19 May 1850 Hunt asked Davis for an "enriched Drawing Room ceiling."

While Hunt was in New York in December 1851, Davis probably accompanied him to cabinet-makers and upholsterers' establishments to shop for furniture, carpets, draperies, etc.

<sup>40</sup>It is possible that Davis made sketches for Hunt's Gothic Revival mirrors and drapery lambrequin, though the architect did not record them in his diary, nor did he charge Hunt for designing any furniture other than the "Outlines of upholstery of windows." These designs, however, may have included the drapery lambrequin of the bay window. The gilded mirrors and lambrequin were custom-designed for the room, undoubtedly created by a fine New York cabinet maker. They are among the most spectacular pieces of Gothic Revival furniture surviving in America. When Julia Hunt sold Loudoun in 1884 she moved the mirrors, the lambrequin, and two white marble mantelpieces (one from the drawing room and one from the upstairs north bedroom) to the house of her daughter, Maria Hunt Dudley and her husband Dr. Benjamin William Dudley, on Gratz Park. The architect of the Dudley House, Phillix Lundin (1839-1886), perhaps designed the parlor to accommodate these fine Gothic Revival furnishings. They are still there today. In addition to these, another piece of Loudoun furniture has come to light. It is a large Gothic center table with a green marble top (perhaps used in the drawing room or library), now in the collection of Mr. Lee B. Anderson of New York City; see Edith Gains, "At Home: A Renwick Townhouse in Old New York," *Art and Antiques* 4 (May-June 1981): 75.

<sup>41</sup>John McMurtry, Hunt's contractor, documented the construction cost of Loudoun in a newspaper advertisement listing buildings built by him, *Lexington Daily Press*, 2 June 1887; Lancaster, *Ante Bellum Houses of the Bluegrass*, pp. 122, 154n. McMurtry's construction figure of \$30,000 would not have included interior decoration and furnishings.

<sup>42</sup>Letter, Hunt to Davis, 26 May 1852, New York Public Library, A. J. Davis Papers. F. K. and Julia Hunt probably moved into the Gothic villa previous to this letter, as they sold their Barr Street house on 8 October 1851. They lived happily at Loudoun until F. K. Hunt's death in 1879. In 1884 Julia Hunt sold Loudoun to William Cassius Goodloe. The Goodloe family owned the property until 1921. In that year Judge J. F. Baily purchased it; he later donated it to the City of Lexington. Now the center of Castlewood Park, Loudoun is the home of the Lexington Art League.